

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02
SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 /068 W
-----141146Z 068591 /10

R 140530Z APR 77
FM AMEMBASSY KABUL
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2227
INFO AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 KABUL 2555

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, AF
SUBJ: DELAY IN PROCLAIMING CHARTER OF NATIONAL REVOLUTION PARTY

1. SUMMARY: PRESIDENT DAOUD APRIL 10 TOLD A PRESS CONFERENCE THAT ALTHOUGH THE CHARTER OF THE NEW NATIONAL REVOLUTION PARTY (NRP) HAD BEEN COMPLETED, CERTAIN "SUBVERSIVE ELEMENTS" HAD BECOME INVOLVED IN THE PARTY'S MEMBERSHIP RECRUITMENT DRIVE. REPORTS WE HEARD EARLIER INDICATE ALSO THAT THE FORMATION PROCESS OF THE NRP HAD HIT SNAGS. IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHETHER THESE DEVELOPMENTS MEAN THAT SOME-HOW EVENTS IN FACT SLIPPED FROM DAOUD'S GRASP -- HOWEVER TEMPORARILY -- OR WHETHER PARTY FORMATION TURNED INTO A MESS FROM WHICH HE WANTED TO DISASSOCIATE HIMSELF. IN EITHER CASE, DAOUD WILL MOST PROBABLY DEVOTE CONSIDERABLE ENERGY TO THE NRP ISSUE UPON HIS RETURN FROM MOSCOW. END SUMMARY.

2. IN AN APRIL 10 PRESS INTERVIEW (HIS FIRST SINCE HIS ELECTION AS PRESIDENT) WITH SEVERAL AFGHAN JOURNALISTS, MOHAMMAD DAOUD SAID, AMONG
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OTHER THINGS, THAT THE DRAFTING OF THE CHARTER OF THE NATIONAL REVOLUTION PARTY (NRP) WAS FINISHED "A LONG TIME AGO". HE ADDED THAT THE CHARTER WILL BE PROCLAIMED "AFTER A REVIEW AND RENDERING" OF ITS CONTENTS TO MAKE IT COMPATIBLE WITH THE RECENTLY ADOPTED CONSTITUTION. IN REFERENCE TO THE STATUS OF THE PARTY MEMBERSHIP

RECRUITMENT DRIVE, DAOUD SAID THAT "A NUMBER OF SABOTEURS, FOR SABOTAGING, AND A NUMBER OF OPPORTUNISTS, FOR EXPLOITATION, DISTRIBUTED PARTY REGISTRATION AND COMMITMENT CARDS ON THEIR OWN WILL. NO INSTRUCTIONS WHATSOEVER WERE ISSUED TO THEM". DAOUD CONCLUDED WITH AN EXPLANATION OF THE DESIRED ATTITUDES OF NRP MEMBERS WHICH, IN ESSENCE, CONSISTED OF A STRONG BELIEF IN AND COMMITMENT TO THE "PRINCIPLES OF REVOLUTION AND SERVICE TO THE PEOPLE".

3. AS REPORTED IN KABUL A-29 (NOTAL) THE NEW CONSTITUTION ESTABLISHED THE NRP AS THE SOLE LEGAL POLITICAL PARTY, NAMED THE PRESIDENT AS THE NRP LEADER, AND PROVIDED THAT VICE-PRESIDENT (OR VICE PRESIDENTS) WOULD BE SELECTED FROM THE NRP MEMBERSHIP. IN ADDITION, THE NRP WOULD CONTROL NOMINATIONS TO THE MELI JIRGA (NATIONAL ASSEMBLY) WHICH IS DUE TO BE CONVENED ON NOVEMBER 22, 1979. WE HAVE HEARD SEVERAL REPORTS THAT THE LEADERS OF THE MEMBERSHIP RECRUITMENT DRIVE OVER THE PAST FEW MONTHS HAVE BEEN INTERIOR MINISTER ABDUL QADIR (NURISTANI), PRESIDENT OF ARIANA AIRLINES AMANULLAH NAJEEB, AND MR LIAYAQAT HAYAT (CHEF DU CABINET AT THE INTERIOR MINISTRY), IN ADDITION TO THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR, KABUL UNIVERSITY HAD ALSO REPORTEDLY BEEN A TARGET OF HEAVY RECRUITMENT EFFORTS.

4. DAOUD'S PRESS CONFERENCE REMARKS, AND DEPARTURE FOR HIS OFFICIAL VISIT TO THE USSR WITHOUT NAMING
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A VICE PRESIDENT (SEE KABUL 2544) -- TECHNICALLY A VIOLATION OF THE CONSTITUTION SINCE THAT DOCUMENT SPECIFIES THE VEEP AS THE MAN IN CHARGE DURING A PRESIDENT'S ABSENCE OF INCAPACITATION -- DRAMATICALLY INDICATE THAT SOMETHING HAS GONE AWRY IN THE FORMATIN OF THE NRP. THIS VIEW IS SUBSTANTIATED IN PART BY REPORTS WE HAVE HEARD THAT RECRUITMENT OF NRP MEMBERS HAD BEEN SUSPENDED IN ORDER TO " REVIEW APPLICATION" FORMS FOR THE PURPOSE OF IDENTIFYING -- AND PRESUMABLY BOOTING OUT -- ANY AGENTS OF THE

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ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02
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R 140530Z APR 77
FM AMEMBASSY KABUL
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INFO AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 KABUL 2555

PARCHAM OR KHALQ (LEFTIST) PARTIES.

5. THE ABSENCE OF A PUBLISHED NRP CHARTER TO
DATE, COUPLED WITH THE IMPLICATIONS INHERENT
IN DAOUD'S REMARKS, COULD POSSIBLY MEAN THAT
THE PRESIDENT, DESPITE THE FANFARE ACCORDED
THE LOYAL IRGAH AND THE ADOPTION OF THE CONSTI-
TUTION, DOES NOT FEEL FULLY CONSTRAINED BY

ITS PROVISIONS, AND/OR IS LUKEWARM ABOUT CREATING
ANY RELATIVELY INDEPENDENT ACTOR ON THE
AFGHAN POLITICAL STAGE. WHAT MAY HAVE HEDPENED WAS
THT PEOPLE "GOT AHEAD" OF DAOUD IN THE ZEAL OF
THEIR RECRUITMENT, THREATENING TO CREATE A MOVE-
MENT WITHOUT BUILDING IN THE CAREFUL CONTROL MEC NISMS
DAOUD REQUIRES. ANOTHER POSSIBILITY IS THAT
UNTRAINED HANDS GOT HOLD OF PARTY ORGANIZATION,
MADE A MESS OF THINGS, AND HAD TO BE PUBLICLY
DISOWNED BY THE PRESIDENT. AFGHANISTAN DOES NOT HAVE
A TRADITION OF STRICT ADHERENCE TO LEGALITIES, AND
YET ANOTHER POSSIBILITY IS THAT DOAUD FELT UNREQUIRED
TO COMPLY WITH HIS CONSTITUTION FACED AS HE WAS WITH
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CERTAIN OBSTACLES TO FULL ADHERENCE TO THE NICETIES --
LIKE GETTING A PARTY STARTED BEFORE LEAVING FOR THE
USSR IN ORDER TO APPOINT A VICE PRESIDENT.

6. THE KEY FACTORS IN THE NRP EQUATION , OF
COURSE, REMAIN DAOUD'S PERCEPTION OF THE ULTIMATE
ROLE HE WANTS ANY POLITICAL PARTY TO PLAY, AS
WELL AS HIS ABILITY TO CONTROL THE EVENTS WHICH

WOULD BRING THAT TOLE INTO EXISTENCE. THE PRO-
VISIONS OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN CONJUNCTION WITH
DAOUDGS PUBLIC COMMENTS, WOULD IPSO FACTO IMPLY
THAT HE SINCERELY WANTS TO EXPAND THE NUMBER OF PLAYERS
IN THE AFGHAN POLITICAL GAME. THIS, IN
OUR VIEW, ANY TEMPORARQDELAYS IN ANNOUNCING THE
NRP'S CHARTER SHOULD NOT NECESSARILY LEAD TO THE
CONCLUSION THAT HE IS CAVALIER ABOUT THE PARTY'S
FUTURE SIGNIFICANCE. AT THE SAME TIME, THE
BIRTH PANGS WHIC CTHE NPR SEEMS TO BE
UNDERGOING AT PRESENT MIGHT REFLECT SLIPPAGE IN
DAOUD'S CONTROL OF THE SITUATION. IF THIS IS
THE CASE, WE SUSPECT THAT THE PRESIDENT, FOLLOWINLB
HIS RETURN FROM MOSCOW, WILL DEVOTE CONSIDERABLE
ATTENTION TO GETTING THE CREATION OF THE NRP BACK
ON THE RIGHT TRACK.
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